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ABSTRACT

Results are reported of a research effort to determine the effects on viewers of "vicarious attitude change" in "message" films used as part of a military race relations training program. One of four groups of white soldiers watched a video recording of a white soldier viewing the film "Black and White: Uptight," showing the positive effects of the film on the viewer's racial attitudes. Group II saw a version in which the viewer's attitudes were not affected; Group III saw the film only, and Group IV was not shown anything. Attitude questionnaire data obtained afterwards showed no significant difference between Groups I and III, but both showed significantly less prejudice than Groups II and IV. (SK)

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Technical Report 75-8

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Vicarious Attitude Change and the Design of "Message" Films: Application to Race Relations

Alfred J. Kraemer, Deborah Hanson Bercini, and John D. Harris

HUMAN RESOURCES RESEARCH ORGANIZATION
300 North Washington Street • Alexandria, Virginia 22314

Approved for public release; distribution unlimited.

June 1975

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Can the persuasiveness of a "message" film be increased by showing the target audience the persuasive effects of the message on a "model"? The racial attitudes of four groups of white soldiers were compared. Group I had watched a video recording of a soldier viewing the film *Black and White: Uptight*, showing the positive effects of that film on his racial attitudes; Group II had seen a version of the recording in which the model's attitudes were not

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affected; Group III had seen the film only; Group IV had not been shown anything. Attitude questionnaire data obtained after the viewing showed no difference between the model-changing group (I) and the film-only group (III). However, scores of both groups reflected significantly less prejudice than the scores of Groups II and IV.

SUMMARY

RESEARCH PROBLEM

Race relations training programs typically include "message" films intended to influence the viewer's racial attitudes. Can the persuasiveness of such films be increased by showing the target audience the persuasive effects of the message on a "model"? The research was designed to provide a preliminary answer to that question. The work involved the following tasks:

(1) The design of a format for the production of message films in which a model exhibits the intended attitude change as a result of being exposed to the message.
(2) The production of one such film, using a message of racial equality.
(3) A determination of the effectiveness of that film under field conditions.

DESIGN OF THE FILM FORMAT

An experimental format was designed. It involved the video recording of what appeared to be a white soldier's spontaneous reactions to the film *Black and White: Uptight*, occurring in the context of an Army project to evaluate various race relations films. Actually, the recording was a staged production involving the use of a script and professional actors. Two versions of the recording were made: In one the soldier's attitudes were affected by the film, in the other they were not.

DATA-GATHERING METHOD

The subjects were 199 white soldiers, assigned at random to four groups. Group I saw the model-changing version of the recording, Group II the model-not-changing version, Group III a recording of the original version of *Black and White: Uptight*, and Group IV did not see any film. Groups I, II, and III responded to a questionnaire on racial attitudes after viewing the recording. Group IV responded to the questionnaire at the same time. The questionnaire consisted of 46 statements with which the subjects could either agree or disagree.

RESULTS

The questionnaires were scored by counting the number of responses interpreted as reflecting a more egalitarian (i.e., less prejudiced) attitude. Comparison of the mean scores for the four groups showed that Group I (model-changing film) did not have higher scores than Group III (film only). However, both groups had significantly higher scores than Groups II and IV. Thus, the presence of the changing model did not add to the positive effect of the original film, while the presence of the non-changing model nullified the effect of the original film.

PREFACE

The research described in this report was concerned with the process of vicarious attitude change and its potential application to the production of "message" films, particularly films intended for use in military race relations training programs.

This work was conducted for the Department of the Army under Basic Research Project BR-20, and was performed by HumRRO Division No. 7 (Social Science), now part of the Eastern Division, in Alexandria, Virginia. Dr. Arthur J. Hoehn was the Director of the Division during the planning and pilot research phases. He was succeeded by Dr. Robert G. Smith. Dr. J. Daniel Lyons is the present Director of the Eastern Division. Dr. Alfred J. Kraemer was the project leader.

Data collection for the pilot study was made possible through the cooperation of Mount Vernon High School in Fairfax County, Virginia, and Ms. Dorothy S. Duncan, Fairfax County Public Schools. Final data collection, involving nearly 200 soldiers at Fort Belvoir, Virginia, was made possible through the cooperation of Major Henry A. Raymond, Race Relations Officer for that post.

This project was performed under Army Contract DAHC19-73-C-0004. Army Basic Research is performed under Army Project 2Q061102B74B. The work was conducted under the sponsorship of the U.S. Army Research Institute for the Behavioral and Social Sciences, with Dr. J.A. Thomas serving as the technical monitor.

Meredith P. Crawford
President
Human Resources Research Organization

CONTENTS

		Page
Summary		1
Preface		3
Background		9
Design of the Film Format		10
	Pilot Study	10
	The "Evaluation of a Film" Format	11
Production of the Experimental Film		12
Data Gathering Method		14
	Subjects	14
	Experimental Design	15
	The Questionnaire	15
	Procedure	16
Results		16
Discussion		16
References		21
Appendices		
A	Synopsis of the Film, *Black and White: Uptight*	23
B	Completed Script for the Experimental Film: *Evaluation of Race Relations Film*	24
C	Racial Attitude Questionnaire	30
D	Percentages of Egalitarian Responses	35

Vicarious Attitude Change and the Design of "Message" Films:

Application to Race Relations

BACKGROUND

The use of motion pictures with a "message" has become almost routine in training programs in which attitude change on the part of the learner is an explicit goal. It is not surprising, therefore, that films or video recordings are used regularly in the military's instruction in race relations. The research described in this report examines a neglected aspect of attitude change methodology which may be related to the persuasiveness of such films.

In recent years a considerable amount of psychological research has been devoted to the study of how people's behavior is changed as a result of their observation of the behavior of a "model."

> . . . . virtually all learning phenomena resulting from direct experiences can occur on a vicarious basis through observation of other persons' behavior and its consequences for them. Thus, for example, one can acquire intricate response patterns merely by observing the performances of appropriate models; emotional responses can be conditioned observationally by witnessing the affective reactions of others undergoing painful or pleasurable experiences; fearful and avoidant behavior can be extinguished vicariously through observation of modeled approach behavior toward feared objects without any adverse consequences accruing to the performer, inhibitions can be induced by witnessing the behavior of others punished; and, finally, the expression of well-learned responses can be enhanced and socially regulated through the actions of influential models. Modeling procedures are therefore, ideally suited for effecting diverse outcomes including elimination of behavioral deficits, reduction of excessive fears and inhibitions, transmission of self-regulating systems and social facilitation of behavioral patterns on a group-wide scale.[1]

If the vicarious experience resulting from the observation of a change in a model's behavior can produce a similar behavioral change in the observer, an analogous vicarious process may be hypothesized with respect to attitude change: The witnessing of an attitude change in a model may result in a similar attitude change in the observer.

Creators of television advertisements have long assumed that this kind of vicarious process does occur. The classic example is the home product commercial in which the message consists of a sales pitch and a demonstration, with a "housewife" (played by an actress) who at first exhibits a skeptical attitude toward the product. However, as a result of her exposure to the message, her attitude toward the product is changed; she now says good things about the product and promises to use it. The creators of this type of commercial undoubtedly assume that the persuasiveness of the message is increased by having the target audience witness its effect on a model.

The project involved the following tasks:

(1) The design of a format for the production of message films in which a model exhibits the intended attitude change as a result of being exposed to the message.[2]

[1] Albert Bandura. *Principles of Behavior Modification*, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York, 1969, p. 118. Quoted by permission.

[2] The term "film" will be used to refer to audio-visual material that may have been filmed or videotaped, and that may be shown either by film projection or television.

the model-changing group approached statistical significance in the hypothesized direction for female students only.

This format seemed to succeed in creating the impression that the show was real and the conversation spontaneous.[1] However, because of the necessity to have the identical message in all three versions, there was relatively little give-and-take between the physician and the sophomore, and most of what they would have said directly to each other in a real show was said in response to questions by the host. As a result, the show did not have the liveliness and emotional involvement that would normally be expected with a controversial topic in this type of show. For this reason further development of this format for use with a message dealing with race relations was abandoned in favor of a format that would employ an existing film as the message.

The "Evaluation of a Film" Format

This format involved the selection of an existing film containing the desired message, and the use of that film in the production of a new film which would purport to show an evaluation of the first film by a critic (the model.) This format was used in the main phase of the present research.

For the production of the new film (i.e., for the purposes of selecting the message film, scriptwriting, and selecting and directing the actor for the role of the model), several factors were assumed to affect the attitude change in the target audience. The factors were:

(1) *The degree of similarity between the model and the viewers.* It was assumed that the more the model looked and talked so as to appear to the audience to be "one of them," and the more similar the model's initial racial attitudes were to those of the audience, the more likely it would be that the model's attitude change would increase the persuasiveness of the message.

(2) *The degree of persuasiveness of the message.* It was assumed that there is a curvilinear relationship between the persuasiveness of the message and the influence of the model's attitude change: With a message of high or low persuasiveness the model's attitude change would have less influence on the audience than with a message of intermediate persuasiveness.[2]

(3) *The degree of attitude change in the model.* It was assumed that there is a curvilinear relationship between the degree of attitude change in the model (as compared to that of the audience) and the influence of the model's attitude change: If the attitude change in the model were not greater than that which the message itself would produce in the viewer, or if the former were considerably greater than the latter, the model's attitude change would have less influence than if it were of some intermediate degree.

Several standard reference works on research on attitude change were searched,[3] as was *Psychological Abstracts* for the years 1960-1973. There was no indication of any previous research on the effectiveness of using a model's attitude change for the purpose

[1] There appeared to be unanimous surprise among the subjects when they were told, after the data had been collected, that the show had been staged.

[2] Given the well-known difficulty of changing racial attitudes by any quick and practical method, there was obviously no concern over the possibility of selecting a message film with too high a degree of persuasiveness.

[3] For example:

C.A. Kiesler, B.E. Collins, and N. Miller. *Attitude Change*, Wiley, New York, 1969.

W.J. McGuire. "The Nature of Attitudes and Attitude Change," in G. Lindzey and E. Aronson (Eds.), *The Handbook of Social Psychology* (2nd ed.) vol. 3, Addison-Wesley, Reading, Mass., 1969, pp. 136-314.

of increasing the persuasiveness of a message. For this reason no supporting evidence can be cited for the above assumptions.

There was, of course, no precise way in which these assumptions could be translated into specific procedures for (a) selecting the message film, (b) determining the content of the script, and (c) selecting and directing the actor for the role of the model. Nevertheless, each of these steps in the production was influenced by the assumptions which provided the conceptual framework for the decisions that had to be made.

PRODUCTION OF THE EXPERIMENTAL FILM

Two versions of the experimental film had to be produced. In each the audience would be shown what appeared to be a filming of an evaluation of a race relations film (the message) by a white soldier (the model). The evaluation would be in the form of comments made to a white WAC (Women's Army Corps) interviewer who was conducting the evaluation and would remain neutral. She would elicit comments during periodic stops in the viewing of the film.

About a dozen films concerned with race relations were examined for their suitability as the message. The film to be selected had to (a) have an appropriate content for the intended audience (volunteer soldiers with less than one year of service), (b) have a relatively high degree of persuasiveness compared to the other available films, and (c) be structured so that several interruptions (to insert the model's reactions) would not greatly diminish its effectiveness.

The film *Black and White: Uptight* was selected.[1] A synopsis is given in Appendix A. The 35-minute film was reproduced on videotape to facilitate the editing of the experimental film. During the reproduction three passages totaling less than five minutes in duration were omitted because of poor acting, casting, or direction.

A script was written for the production of the film, which was entitled *Evaluation of Race Relations Film.* The beginning of the script had to set the stage for the audience in a way that would (a) make the film-within-a-film format plausible as a real event, and (b) portray the model as initially having racial attitudes similar to those the majority of the target audience was assumed to have. The first section of the script, showing how plausibility was achieved, is reproduced below. The model's initial attitude is shown in this section and during the first three interruptions of the original film. (see Appendix B).

Initial Segment of Script for Experimental Film

THE PLACE: *An Army post TV studio*

THE TIME: *Today*

THE CHARACTERS: *An Army soldier, Pfc. John Kelsey ("viewer"), who has been told to report to the studio to participate in the evaluation of an Army race relations film.*

A WAC, Sergeant Patterson ("interviewer"), who works at the studio.

[1] *Black and White: Uptight* was produced by Max Miller, Avanti Films, and released in 1969. It is distributed by BFA Educational Media, Santa Monica, Calif. Permission to reproduce the film on videotape was obtained from the distributor.

(The scene begins with the viewer already seated. The interviewer enters.)

INTERVIEWER: Good morning.

VIEWER: Hi.

INTERVIEWER: You're John Kelsey.

VIEWER: Right.

INTERVIEWER: I'm Sergeant Patterson. (She sits down.) I guess you know why you've been asked to come here to the studio.

VIEWER: Yeah, I'm supposed to see a film.

INTERVIEWER: That's right. We're going to show it to you on this TV set right here. (She points to a TV set in front of them.) We're evaluating several films on race relations for the Department of the Army. The one we're looking at today was made five years ago. So it's a little dated. We've selected a group of soldiers—like yourself—to take a look at each one and give us their reactions. By doing this we can find out which is the best one.

VIEWER: And what are you going to do with it?

INTERVIEWER: We will recommend that the film that gets the best ratings be used in the Army's race relations training program.

VIEWER: I don't think it'll work?

INTERVIEWER: You don't think *what* will work?

VIEWER: Changing people's mind about race by showing them a film.

INTERVIEWER: You don't think so?

VIEWER: No. It won't have any effect on them.

INTERVIEWER: Why do you say that?

VIEWER: A lot of people have pretty strong feelings about that, you know. And looking at a movie isn't going to make any difference. Besides some people don't even want to see this kind of film. I've seen some guys just go to sleep on it.

INTERVIEWER: Well, we don't expect that it'll change anybody's mind. But maybe it will at least get them to think about their racial attitudes.

VIEWER: I know the films I've seen haven't had any effect on me. Actually, I don't see how they could have, anyway.

INTERVIEWER: What do you mean?

VIEWER: Well, I don't think I'm any more prejudiced than anybody else.

INTERVIEWER: So you get along all right?

VIEWER: I don't have anything against blacks, as long as they don't cause any trouble. We had quite a few of them in the high school I went to. We got along all right.

INTERVIEWER: How about now, in the service?

VIEWER: No problem.

INTERVIEWER: Everything's OK?

VIEWER: Every now and then, things get kinda tense, but that's not because of prejudice. There are always a few troublemakers, you know. And, people resent it when the blacks want special treatment. I guess I do too.

INTERVIEWER: It looks like they're ready in the control room. Now, we're not going to show you the whole film all at once. We would like to get your evaluation for different parts of it. So we'll show you just a few minutes at a time, and then stop it and get your evaluation for that part. OK?

VIEWER: OK.

INTERVIEWER: (To control room operator) We're ready. You can start it now.

(They turn toward the TV set in front of them to watch the beginning of *Black and White: Uptight.)*

The experimental film continues by showing the beginning of *Black and White: Uptight.* The film is interrupted nine times to show the reactions of the model at successive stages of the message. During the first three interruptions the reactions are the same in both versions of the experimental film. It is only during the fourth interruption that some change in attitude becomes apparent in the model-changing version. The script for these reactions is in Appendix B.

The roles of the soldier and of the WAC were played by actors who had been selected because their physical appearance and voice seemed well suited for their roles. They were coached to give a non-theatrical performance designed to create the illusion that their encounter was real.

Both versions of the experimental film, as well as the original film, were recorded in color on videotape.

DATA GATHERING METHOD

Subjects

The subjects were 199 white male soldiers who had joined the Army as volunteers and were stationed at Fort Belvoir, Virginia, in March 1974. They were in the Advanced

Individual Training program of the Corps of Engineers and had been in the Army about six months. They had not yet attended the military's mandatory three-day race relations seminar.

Experimental Design

The design was a posttest-only design. Kiesler, *et al.*,[1] noting that the term "attitude change" is often mistakenly reserved for the pretest-posttest design, point out the appropriateness of the posttest-only design. Triandis[2] recommends the posttest-only design when random assignment of subjects is possible.

The subjects were randomly assigned to four groups.[3] Group I saw the model-changing version of the experimental film, Group II the model-not-changing version, Group III the original film. A racial attitude questionnaire was then administered. Group IV did not see any film, but responded to the questionnaire while the films were shown to the other groups.

The Questionnaire

No suitable existing questionnaire was found, for two main reasons. First, racial attitudes have undergone considerable change in the United States during the past decade, causing many questionnaire items to become outdated. And, second, in most of the research on racial attitudes, college students were used as subjects. As a result, researchers used questionnaire items that were not necessarily suitable—in terms of grammatical structure and vocabulary—for non-college-level subjects.

A few suitable items were found in the questionnaire developed by Woodmansee and Cook[4] and previously used to measure racial attitudes of military personnel.[5] Several additional items in that questionnaire had a suitable content but had to be rewritten. Most of the 46 items in the questionnaire used in the present study were entirely new. Each item consisted of a statement with which the subject could either agree or disagree. For half of the items, agreement—and for the other half, disagreement—was interpreted as reflecting a more egalitarian (i.e., less prejudiced) attitude. The questionnaire is reproduced in Appendix C.

The test-retest reliability of the questionnaire, computed with Horst's modified Kuder-Richardson formula, was .95. The data of Group IV were used for this computation. The same data were used for a scalogram analysis developed by Green.[6] This analysis yielded a coefficient of reproducibility of .86 and an index of consistency of .34.

[1] Kiesler *et al., op. cit.*

[2] H.C. Triandis. *Attitude and Attitude Change*, Wiley, New York, 1971.

[3] Random assignment was achieved by the way the subjects were directed to the four busses that transported them to the location of the experiment. As they arrived for boarding the busses, the first subject was told to take the first bus, the second subject the second bus, etc. Each of the resulting four groups were taken to their respective rooms by a noncommissioned officer. Five subjects were excused by their NCO after being assigned to their group, because they had other commitments. As a result, the four groups had 50, 51, 51, and 47 subjects, respectively. The subjects were not told about what they would participate in before being seated in their respective rooms.

[4] J.J. Woodmansee and S.W. Cook. "Dimensions of Verbal Racial Attitudes, Their Identification and Measurement," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, vol. 7, 1967, pp. 240-250.

[5] N. Gaines and H. Haine. *An Evaluation of a Race Relations Seminar*, Research Branch Report 10-73, Chief of Naval Technical Training, Naval Air Station Memphis, Millington, Tenn., April 1973.

[6] B.F. Green. "A Method of Scalogram Analysis Using Summary Statistics," *Psychometrika*, Vol. 21, 1956, pp. 79-88.

Procedure

The subjects were brought to classrooms following a morning of field training activities. Each group viewed its respective film in a separate classroom equipped with several 23-inch TV monitors. Groups I, II, and III were told that they had been asked to come there to help the Army evaluate a race relations film, that they would be shown a film and would then be asked to fill out a questionnaire. Group IV was told that they had been asked to come there to participate in an Army survey of soldiers' feelings about race relations. Additional information was given on the cover sheet of the questionnaire (see Appendix C).

RESULTS

The questionnaires were scored by counting the number of egalitarian responses made by each subject. The percentages of egalitarian responses for each item by each group are shown in Appendix D. The means and standard deviations for the four groups were as follows:

	Group	Mean	S.D.
I	(Saw model-changing version of film)	32.5	9.04
II	(Saw model-not-changing version of film)	27.7	11.25
III	(Saw film without model)	32.6	9.75
IV	(Did not see film)	27.6	10.01

An analysis of variance of the data yielded the following results:

Source	*df*	Mean Square	*F*
Between	3	403.33	3.91*
Within	195	103.10	

*$p < .01$

Comparisons of individual group means, using a *t* test, yielded significant differences between the following pairs of groups: I and II, I and IV, II and III, III and IV ($p < .2$, two-tailed, in each case).

The results show that:

(1) The model-changing version of the film did not produce a greater change in attitude than the film without the model.

(2) The model-not-changing version of the film did not produce a change in attitude.

(3) The model-changing version of the film and the film without the model produced a significant change in attitude.

These results can be interpreted as indicating that the hypothesized influence of the model's attitude change did not occur, while the presence of a model whose attitude did not change had a significant negative effect on the audience. It caused the message to lose its persuasiveness.

DISCUSSION

With respect to the failure of the model-changing version to produce a greater change in attitude than the original film itself, the following explanation is suggested. In writing the script, the decisions on what would constitute the appropriate initial attitude

of the model, and the appropriate amount of change, were implicitly based on assumptions about the existing attitudes of the subjects. As noted earlier, the optimum initial attitude of the model was assumed to be one as similar as possible to that of the subjects; and the model's optimum change was assumed to be somewhat greater than that which the message itself would produce. In examining the percentages of egalitarian responses of Group IV for each questionnaire item, it was noticed that for a large majority of the items the percentages were considerably higher than expected. This suggests that the subjects had implicitly been assumed to be more prejudiced than they actually were. It is likely that this influenced the script writing so as to cause the model's initial attitude and his subsequent change to be of less than optimum value for most of the subjects.

It is suggested that future research concerning the effects of a model's attitude change on the persuasiveness of a message (a) should involve prior determination of the existing attitudes (on the given topic) in the population from which the subjects are to be obtained; and (b) should systematically vary the initial attitude of the model, as well as the degree of the model's attitude change. An alternate approach would be to use a pretest-posttest design in an attempt to determine what relationships exist between model variables and subject variables. However, such a design would be quite unwieldy because of the need for determining the effects of the pretest sensitization and of the pretest-film interaction for each version of the film.

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AND
APPENDICES

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Appendix A

SYNOPSIS OF THE FILM, *BLACK AND WHITE: UPTIGHT*

The myths that perpetuate prejudice against black people in our society and the subtle ways that hate is learned are explored in this film. The social and economic differences that do exist between blacks and whites are caused by historical inequities in education and economic opportunity, and are in some cases even perpetuated by laws. The riots that have erupted in the cities throughout the United States have forced basic issues of injustice to the surface for all Americans to face. There are no easy ways to solve the problems caused by prejudice, but examples are given of areas in which blacks and whites working together in a combined effort with government and business can wipe out the hatred and misunderstanding between the races. This film acquaints the viewer with the subtle and sometimes unconscious manifestations of prejudice as well as the more obvious. It encourages viewers to look more closely at their own attitudes. This film provides some answers to people who may ask, "What can I do to help?"

Appendix B

COMPLETED SCRIPT FOR THE EXPERIMENTAL FILM: *EVALUATION OF RACE RELATIONS FILM*

This appendix contains the script for the reactions of the model to various segments of *Black and White: Uptight.* It also includes the script for the portion of the film that precedes the showing of *Black and White: Uptight,* which was included in the report text.) The model's reactions were the same in both versions of the experimental film for the first three interruptions of *Black and White: Uptight.* A summary of what the model is reacting to is given before each reaction.

THE PLACE: *An Army post TV studio*

THE TIME: *Today*

THE CHARACTERS: *An Army soldier, Pfc. John Kelsey ("viewer"), who has been told to the studio to participate in the evaluation of an Army race relations film.*
A WAC, Sergeant Patterson ("interviewer"), who works at the studio.

The scene begins with the viewer already seated. (The interviewer enters.)

INTERVIEWER: Good morning.

VIEWER: Hi.

INTERVIEWER: You're John Kelsey.

VIEWER: Right.

INTERVIEWER: I'm Sergeant Patterson. (She sits down.) I guess you know why you've been asked to come here to the studio.

VIEWER: Yeah, I'm supposed to see a film.

INTERVIEWER: That's right. We're going to show it to you on this TV set right here. (She points to a TV set in front of them.) We're evaluating several films on race relations for the Department of the Army. The one we're looking at today was made five years ago. So it's a little dated. We've selected a group of soldiers—like yourself—to take a look at each one and give us their reactions. By doing this we can find out which is the best one.

VIEWER: And what are you going to do with it?

INTERVIEWER: We will recommend that the film that gets the best ratings be used in the Army's race relations training program.

VIEWER: I don't think it'll work?

INTERVIEWER: You don't think *what* will work?

VIEWER: Changing people's mind about race by showing them a film.

INTERVIEWER: You don't think so?

VIEWER: No. It won't have any effect on them.

INTERVIEWER: Why do you say that?

VIEWER: A lot of people have pretty strong feelings about that, you know. And looking at a movie isn't going to make any difference. Besides some people don't even want to see this kind of film. I've seen some guys just go to sleep on it.

INTERVIEWER: Well, we don't expect that it'll change anybody's mind. But maybe it will at least get them to think about their racial attitudes.

VIEWER: I know the films I've seen haven't had any effect on me. Actually, I don't see how they could have, anyway.

INTERVIEWER: What do you mean?

VIEWER: Well, I don't think I'm any more prejudiced than anybody else.

INTERVIEWER: So you get along all right?

VIEWER: I don't have anything against blacks, as long as they don't cause any trouble. We had quite a few of them in the high school I went to. We got along all right.

INTERVIEWER: How about now, in the service?

VIEWER: No problem.

INTERVIEWER: Everything's OK?

VIEWER: Every now and then, things get kinda tense, but that's not because of prejudice. There are always a few troublemakers, you know. And, people resent it when the blacks want special treatment. I guess I do too.

INTERVIEWER: It looks like they're ready in the control room. Now, we're not going to show you the whole film all at once. We would like to get your evaluation for different parts of it. So we'll show you just a few minutes at a time, and then stop it and get your evaluation for that part. OK?

VIEWER: OK.

INTERVIEWER: (To control room operator) We're ready. You can start it now.

(They turn toward the TV set in front of them to watch the beginning of *Black and White: Uptight.)*

1. *Summary* - Various subtle ways in which racial prejudice manifests itself among white people.

Reaction

(Both versions)

VIEWER: I guess it's going to be one of those films that say "It's all your fault."

INTERVIEWER: What do you mean?

VIEWER: Well, he's trying to tell us that most white people are prejudiced against Negroes, and that's what causes the problems. I don't think that's true. Just because I might not drink from the same glass, that doesn't mean I'm prejudiced, does it? I wouldn't drink from *anybody's* glass if I thought the guy could be sick. And if I don't want to go to a black dentist, maybe it's because I think he had to go to a black dental school.

INTERVIEWER: You think the movie is going to be unfair to whites.

VIEWER: It sure looks that way from the way it's starting out.

INTERVIEWER: What about that little scene in the doctor's office? How do you feel about that?

VIEWER: (Shifting in chair, scratching neck) Well, that's the same type of thing.

INTERVIEWER: What do you mean?

VIEWER: I mean. . . . just because a guy wouldn't want his wife or his sister to go to a Negro doctor, that doesn't mean he's prejudiced. There are some things where it may just be better all around not to mix the races.

INTERVIEWER: M-hmm.

VIEWER: Is it all going to be like that?

INTERVIEWER: Why don't we play some more of it, and you can see for yourself.

VIEWER: OK.

2. *Summary* - Scenes of protests and riots by black people.

Reaction
(Both versions)

INTERVIEWER: Well, how about this part?

VIEWER: This isn't so bad. At least we're getting the other side of the story. I mean, the things about Negroes that cause a lot of white people to feel the way they do.

INTERVIEWER: You think this part of the film isn't as unfair to whites as the beginning was?

VIEWER: Right. The business about welfare, and all the rest. And all that protest and violence. I'm not saying that some of their gripes aren't justified. But all that rioting isn't going to get 'em anywhere. Hell, I got gripes too and I don't go out and riot!

INTERVIEWER: (Talking to the technician in the control room) All right, play the next part.

3. *Summary* - Forceful demands for equal rights by black speakers.

Reaction
(Both versions)

INTERVIEWER: What do you think of this part?

VIEWER: People aren't going to like that.

INTERVIEWER: Why?

VIEWER: That black kid is getting all excited over this school integration problem. That's the way they are though. They like to make a big fuss over everything. They want to have everything right away.

INTERVIEWER: What would you do if you were in his place?

VIEWER: Me? What would I do? I don't know.

4. *Summary* - Portrayal of life in the black ghetto contrasted to the home of a suburban middle-class black family.

Reaction
(Model-Changing Version)

INTERVIEWER: That 10 to 12 thousand dollars a year is a little out of date. Today a guy would have to be earning at least $15,000 to have a home like that.

VIEWER: Yeah. But what are they trying to prove? That's not the way any black neighborhoods look that I've ever seen. A lot of them are just slums. But I guess a guy making $15,000 wouldn't live in the slums.

INTERVIEWER: (Signals to control room to continue.)

Reaction
(Model-Not-Changing Version)

INTERVIEWER: That 10 to 12 thousand dollars a year is a little out of date. Today a guy would have to be earning at least $15,000 to have a home like that.

VIEWER: Yeah. But what are they trying to prove? That's not the way any black neighborhoods look that I've ever seen. A lot of them are just slums.

INTERVIEWER: (Signals to control room to continue.)

5. *Summary* - The psychological and physiological effects of ghetto life on black children.

Reaction
(Model-Changing Version)

INTERVIEWER: What is your evaluation of this part?

VIEWER: It's all right. It shows that poor people are worse off in a lot of ways. But that's true for poor white people too. It's just that there are more poor among the black than among the white. I guess that's the problem. I think this part is OK. He tells you a few things that maybe you didn't know. I mean about the problems black people have living in the city, bad neighborhoods and all that.

INTERVIEWER: OK, let's go on and see some more of the film.

Reaction
(Model-Not-Changing Version)

INTERVIEWER: What is your evaluation of this part?

VIEWER: It just shows that poor people are worse off, and that's nothing new. That's true for poor white people too. It's just that there are more poor among the black than among the white. But that's not because of prejudice or racism. A lot of them just don't want to work their way out of being poor. That's why so many of them are poor.

INTERVIEWER: (To the control room) Play the next part.

6. *Summary* - Explanations for the large number of ghetto families on welfare.

Reaction
(Model-Changing Version)

INTERVIEWER: Well, how about this part?

VIEWER: I guess I don't know too much about the ghetto. Some of this is new to me.

INTERVIEWER: Do you think this is useful information?

VIEWER: Useful for what?

INTERVIEWER: In a movie on race relations.

VIEWER: Well, it's useful information, if it's true.

INTERVIEWER: Let's look at the next part.

7. *Summary* - Some white people sympathizing with Blacks and saying that protests and riots had to be expected.

Reaction
(Model-Changing Version)

INTERVIEWER: What do you think of this piece?

VIEWER: Some of this is kind of hard to go along with.

INTERVIEWER: What do you mean?

VIEWER: Well, the idea that the blacks had to riot to get a fair deal. Some people just won't believe that, even if it's true.

INTERVIEWER: (Signals to technician to continue with the showing of the film.)

Reaction
(Model-Not-Changing Version)

INTERVIEWER: What do you think of this piece?

VIEWER: People won't like this part.

INTERVIEWER: Why not?

VIEWER: Everybody is for fair play, but there's no excuse for rioting. They make it sound like they have a right to riot and burn things down. That's going to turn people off.

INTERVIEWER: (Signals to technician to continue with the showing of the film.)

8. *Summary* - Some accomplishments by Blacks.

Reaction
(Model-Changing Version)

INTERVIEWER: Do you have any comments on this part?

VIEWER: (After a while of thought) No.

INTERVIEWER: Let's go on then and look at the next part.

Reaction
(Model-Not-Changing Version)

INTERVIEWER: Do you have any comments on this part?

VIEWER: No. (Reluctantly) I guess it's all right.

INTERVIEWER: Let's go on then and look at the next part.

9. *Summary* - Comments by black students on subtle forms of prejudice in English language usage. Differing views expressed by Blacks on best course of action to achieve justice and equality.

Reaction
(Model-Changing Version)

INTERVIEWER: Any comment?

VIEWER: Some of this is good, I think. Like in that part where it shows that "black" means "bad" in the way we talk. You know, you never think of that.

INTERVIEWER: How about the rest of this part?

VIEWER: I guess it's all right. It just shows that blacks don't agree among themselves, just like whites don't.

INTERVIEWER: Well, let's look at the next piece. This will be the last one.

Reaction
(Model-Not-Changing Version)

INTERVIEWER: Any comments?

VIEWER: Well, here is where we're getting into who is causing the trouble. And it's like the woman says, it's just a few trouble-makers who cause the problems and get people all stirred up.

INTERVIEWER: So you think this part is OK?

VIEWER: I don't think it makes that clear enough.

INTERVIEWER: Well, let's look at the next piece. This will be the last one.

10. *Summary* - The film as a whole.

Reaction
(Model-Changing Version)

INTERVIEWER: That's it. This is the end of the film. What's your overall reaction?

VIEWER: Well, it makes you think. There are a few parts here and there that people might not like. But it's going to make them think. It's better than the other films they're showing on the race problem.

INTERVIEWER: Do you think the movie is unfair to whites?

VIEWER: I guess I thought so when it started out. But I think it's all right. There are a lot of things you don't realize until you start to think about them. I mean, I don't go along with everything he said. But, I suppose there is a lot of prejudice around. And people just don't see it. But it's there. And, ...what was your question?

INTERVIEWER: Do you think the movie is unfair to whites?

VIEWER: No, I guess not. Maybe it just tells it like it is.

INTERVIEWER: Well, Thanks for coming in and giving us your opinion. That's the best way to find out if these films are any good.

(They get up and leave the room.)

Reaction

(Model-Not-Changing Version)

INTERVIEWER: That's it. This is the end of the film.

VIEWER: (Stretches and yawns)

INTERVIEWER: What's your overall reaction?

VIEWER: Well, it's got some good parts and some bad ones. Some of this is out of date. You ought to change a few things if you want to use it.

INTERVIEWER: What should be changed?

VIEWER: I mean where it's one-sided. Like, the problems poor people have. It doesn't show the problems poor white people have, only the Black. And the white people get the blame. They ought to change that part. I think it would be better if they showed both sides. I don't mean that there isn't some prejudice. But a lot of the problems black people have don't have anything to do with prejudice. (Pause) I guess that's about all I have to say.

INTERVIEWER: Well, thanks for coming in and helping us out in evaluating this film. That's the best way to find out if these films are any good.

(They get up and leave the room.)

Appendix C

RACIAL ATTITUDE QUESTIONNAIRE

This appendix contains the Racial Attitude Questionnaire used in the research. Forty-six statements are presented involving personal reaction to blacks; after each statement is a blank to be checked to either "agree" or "disagree" with the statement.

Two cover sheets are shown. The first was used with the three groups of subjects who filled out the questionnaire after seeing a film. The second was used with the group that did not see a film.

DO NOT GIVE YOUR NAME

QUESTIONNAIRE

You have seen a part of an evaluation of a race relations film. To find out if the film is suitable for people like yourself, the Army needs to know HOW YOU FEEL about the kinds of things the film talks about.

Read each statement. Then make a CHECKMARK to show if you AGREE or DISAGREE with the statement.

DO NOT SKIP ANY STATEMENTS

Please read each statement carefully

DO NOT GIVE YOUR NAME

		AGREE		DISAGREE
1.	This country would be better off with less mixing of Blacks and Whites.	____	(1)	____
2.	If I were going to a party with a date, I would not mind at all going with an attractive black girl.	____	(2)	____
3.	I would not mind accepting an invitation to a New Year's Eve party given by a black couple in their home.	____	(3)	____
4.	The fact that Blacks have a lower average income than Whites shows that they have less ability than Whites.	____	(4)	____
5.	If I were a teacher, I would not mind taking advice from a black principal any more than from a white principal.	____	(5)	____
6.	School integration is a mistake.	____	(6)	____
7.	I would feel uneasy dancing with a black girl in a public place.	____	(7)	____
8.	The people of each state should be allowed to decide for themselves how much integration they want in their state.	____	(8)	____
9.	If I am going out to eat in a restaurant with another fellow, I would rather not go with a Black.	____	(9)	____
10.	School integration efforts should continue until all school segregation is abolished.	____	(10)	____
11.	People should not have the right to run a business in this country if they will not serve Blacks.	____	(11)	____
12.	I would rather not have Blacks swim in the same pool as I do.	____	(12)	____
13.	I can easily imagine myself falling in love with and marrying a Black.	____	(13)	____
14.	I feel the same respect for a Black who is in a higher social position as I would for a White in that position.	____	(14)	____
15.	White barbers and beauticians should have the right to refuse service to a black customer.	____	(15)	____
16.	If I was being interviewed for a job, it would not matter to me if the interviewer was black.	____	(16)	____
17.	It is a mistake to put Blacks in jobs where they can give orders to Whites.	____	(17)	____
18.	Integration will result in greater understanding between Blacks and Whites.	____	(18)	____

DO NOT GIVE YOUR NAME

		AGREE		DISAGREE
19.	The people of each community should be allowed to decide for themselves how much integration they want in their community.	____	(19)	____
20.	All private schools should have the right to be segregated.	____	(20)	____
21.	The black race is just as intelligent as the white race.	____	(21)	____
22.	Blacks often complain about unfair treatment even when they are being treated like everybody else.	____	(22)	____
23.	I would not accept a job offer from a firm where most of my co-workers would be black.	____	(23)	____
24.	It was right to pass a federal law requiring all hotels and motels to rent rooms to anybody, regardless of race.	____	(24)	____
25.	If Blacks don't get ahead as much as Whites, it's because they don't want to work as hard.	____	(25)	____
26.	If I were giving a party, I would not mind inviting some Blacks.	____	(26)	____
27.	A lot of Blacks expect special treatment just because they are black.	____	(27)	____
28.	No black man would ever make a good President of the United States, even if he could be elected.	____	(28)	____
29.	In most cases school integration is good for both white and black children alike.	____	(29)	____
30.	Private swimming clubs should be open to anyone who qualifies for membership, regardless of race.	____	(30)	____
31.	In the long run we would be better off if we did not allow marriages between Whites and Blacks.	____	(31)	____
32.	Integration has been too slow.	____	(32)	____
33.	I could not fall in love with a girl if I knew she once had a black boyfriend.	____	(33)	____
34.	I would not mind renting an apartment in a building where there are some black tenants.	____	(34)	____
35.	If I had to go into combat, it would make no difference to me whether I served under a white officer or a black officer.	____	(35)	____
36.	Children should not have to attend a school other than the one nearest their home, even if that means keeping some schools segregated.	____	(36)	____
37.	If I were in an Army hospital, it would make no difference to me whether a white doctor or a black doctor treated me.	____	(37)	____

DO NOT GIVE YOUR NAME

		AGREE		DISAGREE
38.	In the Army a lot of Blacks get special treatment just because they are black.	_____	(38)	_____
39.	A home owner should have the right to refuse to sell his house to people of another race.	_____	(39)	_____
40.	If my wife or girlfriend had to go to a medical clinic, it would not matter to me if she was treated by a black doctor.	_____	(40)	_____
41.	Integration has been too fast.	_____	(41)	_____
42.	Most racial troubles are the result of unfair treatment of Blacks by Whites.	_____	(42)	_____
43.	Blacks do not get their fair share of opportunities to improve themselves economically.	_____	(43)	_____
44.	There is too much talk about equal rights for Blacks and not enough about equal rights for Whites.	_____	(44)	_____
45.	A Black can usually not get a fair trial with an all-white jury.	_____	(45)	_____
46.	On the whole, Blacks are just as honest and trustworthy as Whites.	_____	(46)	_____

DO NOT GIVE YOUR NAME

Appendix D

PERCENTAGES OF EGALITARIAN RESPONSES

This table shows the percentages of egalitarian (i.e., less prejudiced) responses made for each item of the Racial Attitude Questionnaire by each of the four groups. Group I saw the model-changing version of the experimental film. Group II saw the model-not-changing version. Group III saw the original version of *Black and White: Uptight.* Group IV did not see a film.

	Agree or Disagree	Group I %	Group II %	Group III %	Group IV %
1. This country would be better off with less mixing of Blacks and Whites.	(D)	78.0	58.8	72.5	68.1
2. If I were going to a party with a date, I would not mind at all going with an attractive black girl.	(A)	68.0	52.9	58.8	48.9
3. I would not mind accepting an invitation to a New Year's Eve party given by a black couple in their home.	(A)	80.0	76.5	84.3	78.7
4. The fact that Blacks have a lower average income than Whites shows that they have less ability than Whites.	(D)	88.0	72.5	92.2	87.2
5. If I were a teacher, I would not mind taking advice from a black principal any more than from a white principal.	(A)	90.0	82.4	94.1	87.2
6. School integration is a mistake.	(D)	66.0	52.9	58.8	51.1
7. I would feel uneasy dancing with a black girl in a public place.	(D)	68.0	54.9	51.0	57.4
8. The people of each state should be allowed to decide for themselves how much integration they want in their state.	(D)	44.0	52.9	60.8	42.6
9. If I am going out to eat in a restaurant with another fellow, I would rather not go with a Black.	(D)	88.0	76.5	86.3	83.0
10. School integration efforts should continue until all school segregation is abolished.	(A)	58.0	49.0	66.7	46.8
11. People should not have the right to run a business in this country if they will not serve Blacks.	(A)	74.0	58.8	76.5	70.2
12. I would rather not have Blacks swim in the same pool as I do.	(D)	90.0	80.4	86.3	78.7
13. I can easily imagine myself falling in love with and marrying a Black.	(A)	48.0	27.5	29.4	21.3
14. I feel the same respect for a Black who is in a higher social position as I would for a White in that position.	(A)	92.0	78.4	86.3	74.5

		Agree or Disagree	Group I %	Group II %	Group III %	Group IV %
15.	White barbers and beauticians should have the right to refuse service to a black customer.	(D)	74.0	70.6	88.2	87.2
16.	If I was being interviewed for a job, it would not matter to me if the interviewer was black.	(A)	96.0	76.5	94.1	89.4
17.	It is a mistake to put Blacks in jobs where they can give orders to Whites.	(D)	92.0	74.5	88.2	89.4
18.	Integration will result in greater understanding between Blacks and Whites.	(A)	68.0	54.9	74.5	55.3
19.	The people of each community should be allowed to decide for themselves how much integration they want in their community.	(D)	48.0	47.1	62.7	42.6
20.	All private schools should have the right to be segregated.	(D)	50.0	41.2	51.0	53.2
21.	The black race is just as intelligent as the white race.	(A)	82.0	68.6	82.4	72.3
22.	Blacks often complain about unfair treatment even when they are being treated like everybody else.	(D)	28.0	23.5	33.3	14.9
23.	I would not accept a job offer from a firm where most of my co-workers would be black.	(D)	92.0	72.5	88.2	76.6
24.	It was right to pass a federal law requiring all hotels and motels to rent rooms to anybody, regardless of race.	(A)	84.0	82.4	96.1	91.5
25.	If Blacks don't get ahead as much as Whites, it's because they don't want to work as hard.	(D)	62.0	51.0	64.7	38.3
26.	If I were giving a party, I would not mind inviting some Blacks.	(A)	88.0	80.4	90.2	76.6
27.	A lot of Blacks expect special treatment just because they are black.	(D)	32.0	25.5	35.3	8.5
28.	No black man would ever make a good President of the United States, even if he could be elected.	(D)	74.0	70.6	86.3	70.2
29.	In most cases school integration is good for both white and black children alike.	(A)	74.0	66.7	70.6	61.7

		Agree or Disagree	Group I %	Group II %	Group III %	Group IV %
30.	Private swimming clubs should be open to anyone who qualifies for membership, regardless of race.	(A)	80.0	78.4	82.4	78.7
31.	In the long run we would be better off if we did not allow marriages between Whites and Blacks.	(D)	70.0	52.9	72.5	66.0
32.	Integration has been too slow.	(A)	64.0	47.1	60.8	38.3
33.	I could not fall in love with a girl if I knew she once had a black boyfriend.	(D)	72.0	62.7	66.7	66.0
34.	I would not mind renting an apartment in a building where there are some black tenants.	(A)	92.0	84.3	90.2	83.0
35.	If I had to go into combat, it would make no difference to me whether I served under a white officer or a black officer.	(A)	96.0	86.3	96.1	87.2
36.	Children should not have to attend a school other than the one nearest their home, even if that means keeping some schools segregated.	(D)	24.0	21.6	33.3	17.0
37.	If I were in an Army hospital, it would make no difference to me whether a white doctor or a black doctor treated me.	(A)	92.0	84.3	92.2	87.2
38.	In the Army a lot of Blacks get special treatment just because they are black.	(D)	62.0	47.1	66.7	51.1
39.	A home owner should have the right to refuse to sell his house to people of another race.	(D)	56.0	49.0	54.9	53.2
40.	If my wife or girlfriend had to go to a medical clinic, it would not matter to me if she was treated by a black doctor.	(A)	84.0	82.4	78.4	68.1
41.	Integration has been too fast.	(D)	72.0	54.9	74.5	48.9
42.	Most racial troubles are the result of unfair treatment of Blacks by Whites.	(A)	54.0	52.9	64.7	40.4
43.	Blacks do not get their fair share of opportunities to improve themselves economically.	(A)	62.0	45.1	60.8	34.0
44.	There is too much talk about equal rights for Blacks and not enough about equal rights for Whites.	(D)	56.0	29.4	45.1	27.7

	Agree or Disagree	Group I %	Group II %	Group III %	Group IV %
45. A Black can usually not get a fair trial with an all-white jury.	(A)	58.0	43.1	45.1	29.8
46. On the whole, Blacks are just as honest and trustworthy as Whites.	(A)	80.0	64.7	70.6	61.7